/85 cont./

844 [828] The most common of the crisis situations is the one that stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 [184] /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage [828] would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avyký-á.

844 [573] [606] [602] The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother; lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group. The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestiso midwife from nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of [824] a splinter of takuáří or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are [752] [184] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

wood is obtained, water is drawn, and food is produced, cooked, and consumed. Agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trading for goods used—all these activities are carried on by the elementary family. There is, of course, mutual helpfulness among relatives, and such assistance is naturally more frequent among close relatives, but there can be no mistaking the present fundamental unit.

The shift in house types to the present, smaller types of dwellings involves somewhat varying architectural patterns, but all of them are basically different from the *tapái*.[140] Architecturally it is usually easy to distinguish the old from the new in Cayuá dwellings. The old-style *tapái*, which is still to be seen today at Taquapiri and at other Cayuá villages, had no walls, or, more precisely, the wall and the roof were not distinct; the roof extended in one unbroken incline from its peak to the ground. The walls of modern houses are perpendicular to the ground. Significantly, the Cayuá call the distinct roofs of their modern type houses "*itéo*," which is apparently from the Spanish *techo* or "roof." This suggests that the aboriginal word did not distinguish between "roof" and "wall" and, therefore, that the architecture wherein the two are different is new.[141] The newer types of houses are not uniform in structural detail, but all have certain features in common which are sufficient to distinguish them from the *tapái*. Besides having separate roofs and walls, the modern houses do not have thatch walls (their roofs, though, are of thatch) like the "walls" of the *tapái*. Modern walls are usually made of 6" to 8"-bamboo trunks split many times about the perimeter and opened and flattened into a sort of board. This use of bamboo not only does not occur in the *tapái* or any other aboriginal type of construction, as far as is known, but would not have been practicable before the advent of metal tools. The foregoing architectural features alone would be infallible in distinguishing the *tapái* from modern Cayuá dwellings, but there is also the matter of size. Although size varies among the modern houses, as it did among aboriginal *tapái*, the old *tapái* were apparently much larger on the average than any modern type house seen or reported. The evident reason is that the *tapái* were intended to hold more people—the extended family. The relation of the change in size of households to the change in size of houses thus seems close and obvious.

Technologically *tapái* construction required the work of a fair number of men—possibly all the male members of an extended family. On the other hand, without metal tools to make the bamboo "boards," not even a sizeable

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[140] It has been thought well to consider house types here, apart from the rest of material culture, because of their implications in the question of the production-consumption-dwelling unit of Cayuá society.

[141] If the supposed etymology of the modern Cayuá word is correct, it indicates the probable European provenience of certain non-aboriginal architectural ideas. Even so, however, this gives only the pattern from which the small houses were borrowed; the question of why remains.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 595 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brasilians, some direct influence against Cayuá polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brasilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *change* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 182 582 602 II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been suggested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterised by the avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[179]

621 591 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapá*. Some sort of cohesive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognised, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most important or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[179] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Thus an even broader extension of the inter-household relationship was possible (that is, including other than own sisters) than if the marital claim were restricted merely to Ego's own sister's daughters.[177]

Two widely recognised and accepted principles of kinship have been appealed to in the foregoing interpretation of the aboriginal Cayuá kinship system; these principles were operative if the situation was as has been described. (1) Matrimony in primitive (and other) societies is intimately concerned with cementing group alliances between different families and clans. (2) There is often no incest tabu between persons who are members of different kinship or locality groups as socially defined, whatever the biological facts of their relationship. The matter of locality is probably crucial in many cases;

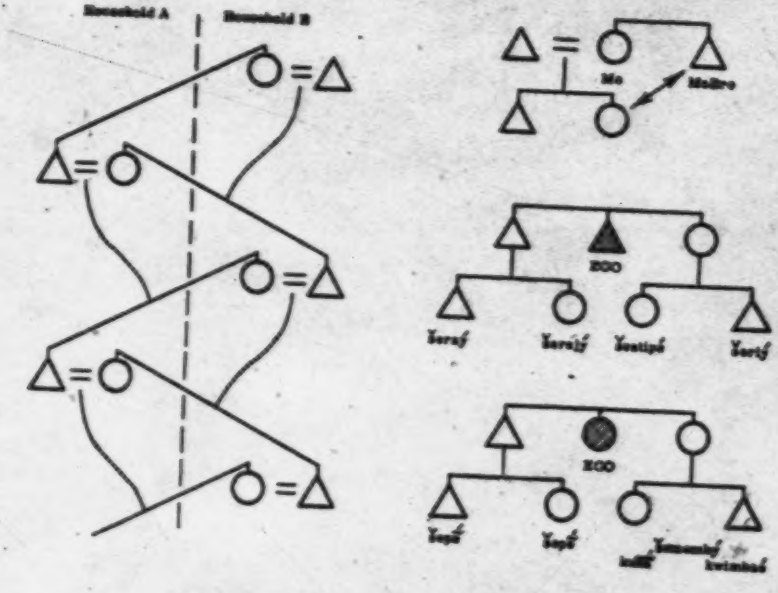

FIG. 3. The Preferential Avuncular Marriage.

[177] Cross-cousin marriage, in the case of a rule of uniform locality (with the family of either spouse), would accomplish the same purpose of linking households through kinship. Simple cross-cousin marriage, however, is not indicated for the Cayuá at present (cousins are called siblings). Perhaps this is in some way because of the bilateral emphasis of the kinship system or, at least, because of the weak development of unilateral sentiments—if such, indeed, exist. But the presumptive marital claim of the chart above was actually asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage in that sister's daughter is also Ego's mother's brother's daughter.

/40 cont./

775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and chil-
868 dren are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
462 must care for the children and educate them, which generally takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance [602] influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

/42 cont./
603 grandparents frequently help with the instruction of the grand-
children, but what they teach are things of a practical or tech-
603 nical order rather than of a disciplinary nature. There are cases
736 in which the grandparents are entirely responsible for the care
and the education required by the grandchildren (this happens
when the children's parents are dead or divorced); the author
regrets not knowing up to what point this relationship between
grandparents and grandchild differs from the normal ones.

604 Brother of the mother and sons and daughters of the sister:
In general, one can say that the son or daughter respects the
mother's brother, although at the same time there is a certain
familiarity with respect to him, besides the privilege of asking
him for help in case of need. The mother's brother may joke
with the nephew and the niece, and these in turn, especially
the nephew, may joke with him, but they must never fail to show
[736] the respect that is due him. The death of the father of the family
taking place, it is probable that the latter will go to live with
[868] the mother's brother. In this case it falls to him to educate
and instruct the male children of the sister; as a substitute for
the true father, he gives them, for example, parcels of land on
which they will have to make their first clearings.
[602] /43/ This relationship is extended to the sons and daughters
of the more distant sisters, but it is not manifested so intensely
in relation to them as toward the sons and daughters of the man's
own sister.

Brother of the father and sons and daughters of the brother:
The relationship that connects the sons and daughters to the
father's sister greatly resembles in several senses the one that
exists between them and the mother's brother. There is a certain
degree of liberty between the sister of a man and his sons and
daughters, and from this her helping them in case of need. The
sons and daughters must always maintain an attitude of respect
toward the father's sister.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a gen-
[178] eral way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the
[173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way,
602 a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.